

The background of the entire page is a photograph of several large construction cranes. The cranes are silhouetted against a bright, hazy, yellowish-orange sky, suggesting a sunrise or sunset. The cranes are positioned at different heights and angles, creating a sense of depth and scale. The overall tone is industrial and contemplative.

# SpaceWatch

2008

## "1m<sup>2</sup>/second"

Territories of Debate in a Direct Democracy

"Space: the Achilles' heel of Sustainable Development?"

SpaceWatch

2008

**SpaceWatch** is a scientific think tank on spatial development, it aims to become the landmark of an independent strategic thought on spatial development in Switzerland, thanks to the exchanges between Swiss and international experts on the major issues of the field. SpaceWatch has been launched on the initiative of the Inter institute (ENAC EPFL). It is currently supported by the Swiss Spatial Sciences Framework (S3F), funded by the ETH Board.

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SpaceWatch

2008

**EPFL**  
ÉCOLE POLYTECHNIQUE  
FÉDÉRALE DE LAUSANNE

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# FOREWORD

This publication compiles the results of the SpaceWatch event 2008. The first edition has taken place in Lausanne on May 15th, 2008. The present book is composed of two parts. Part I presents the scientific comments on the press review highlighting the controversies in public debate on the Swiss territorial development while Part II presents the 8 proposals that came out of the workshop. The main formulations on which the invited specialists agreed are illustrated by significant sentences taken on the fly throughout the day.

The next edition of SpaceWatch will be incorporated into the Swiss Spatial Sciences Framework (S3F) as one of three coordinated events organised in 2009-2010. SpaceWatch 2 will take place in February 2010.

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# PART I

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1m<sup>2</sup>/s:

## Territories of Debate in a Direct Democracy

A critical review of  
press articles surrounding public controversies  
on spatial planning in Switzerland  
(2000-2005)

**“1 m<sup>2</sup>/second”**

Territories  
of  
Debate

in a  
Direct  
Democracy



# INTRODUCTION

Sonia Lavadinho, Jenny Leuba & Mélanie Pitteloud

This document is the result of a deliberate choice to highlight the theme of Swiss territorial development as it emerges from the public debate it generates within the framework of Swiss direct democracy.

Because the Swiss democratic procedures - namely popular initiatives and referendums - allow for a wide margin of voicing the Swiss people's opinion regarding how, where and when to develop the territory they live in, Switzerland's territorial development is shaped by public debate as much as by its legal and institutional framework. Within this context, it seemed promising to explore, as an entry to the discussions that took place in the SpaceWatch workshop, the echoes relayed through the media of the public debates that surround spatial planning controversial issues, in particular those that call for a popular vote. We have thus chosen to assemble a compilation gathering a series of newspaper articles dealing with spatial planning issues and spanning over recent years. We have selected as sources the two reference newspapers - NZZ and Le Temps - representing respectively the German and the French parts of Switzerland.

There are two main sections in this compilation :

1) the first and largest section deals with 9 general themes at the Swiss level, and gathers for each of these themes excerpts from two articles from both newspapers, capped by a scientific comment of the issues emerging from this theme and setting the context giving the background reasons for debate on those issues.

2) the second section deals with 6 specific themes at the local level, and gathers for each of these themes excerpts from two articles from either the *NZZ* or *Le Temps*, depending on which region is concerned by the issues at stake. These excerpts are also capped by a scientific comment on the specific local issues that emerge from the theme. This comment sets the background context and analyses the reasons leading to debate.

These two sections are followed by an overall conclusion that strives to give a few elements of thought regarding spatial planning within the Swiss context.

# General Themes at the Swiss Level

## 1. FUSION AND CONFUSION

Martin Schuler and Jérôme Chenal

**S**witzerland is currently involved in a dynamic process of territorial change at a local level. This movement is anticyclical to the situation in most of the Western European countries, which carried out a policy of territorial reforms during the 1970's. For several years, different Cantons have been fine-tuning a policy for the fusion of communes, first Fribourg, and then Thurgau, Ticino, Valais, Lucerne and other Cantons.

Glaris made the strongest step, since the Landsgemeinde of 2006 decided to reduce the present 27 communes down to 3 in 2010. In other Cantons (NE, VD), important projects have failed, due to the refusal of one or two communes out of a greater number involved in the project. In most Cantons, the Constitution stipulates a univocal acceptance.

Près de la moitié des communes donnent comme raison principale la nécessité de changer, et près du tiers justifie les réformes par une situation financière difficile ou le sentiment d'être arrivées à la limite des prestations possibles.

1\_LT 14.01.2000

The question of local territorial reforms is an interesting subject for newspapers. The following are four hypotheses for the predilection of journalists for the topic:

- The subject is easily understandable for a large public, since everybody is concerned.
- The topic has a weak correlation to positions of the political parties. Supporters and opponents of a fusion can be found in all parties.
- Journalists enjoy the subject, since a large audience is guaranteed and the theme can be convincingly argued either way. In addition, the subject requires little effort to investigate.
- On the other hand, the adoption of a particular position for the editor of a newspaper is not apparent, since potential cleavages among the readers of the paper are obscure.

In the current situation in Switzerland, we can observe quite a high acceptance of fusions for economic and efficiency-related reasons. Also, the atmosphere appears to be presently favourable to the fusion of communes.

To nuance this hypothesis, one can note that newspapers are treating the subject very positively when the fusion occurs outside the region, but are more hesitant to support projects proposed in their own Canton. Since the NZZ and Le Temps are liberal and supra-regional newspapers, this local-regional effect should not be preponderant.

The collected articles in the NZZ concerns projects in 8 Cantons. We can find a few texts with political and conceptual considerations. Certain articles propose interviews with politicians during the preparatory period, other articles analyse the results of a vote, while some texts focus on the process of realisation after acceptance.

Faktisch entscheiden kleine  
Gemeinden nur noch in  
wenigen Bereichen autonom  
[...].

3\_NZZ 13.01.2007

In general, articles in the NZZ are very positive in their treatment of the subject and all titles indicate a clear journalistic engagement in favour of fusions. Surprisingly, this was as much the case for the conservative Glaris region as for urban fusions (Rapperswil-Jona SG, Lucerne-Littau LU, Aargau) and reforms in rural and Alpine regions (Berne, Lucerne, Anniviers VS). The only three articles more or less reluctant to get behind projects for fusions concern the Canton of Zurich, where the NZZ titles speak about “forced marriage”, saying that “it is not yet time for a fusion” or “no advantages of a fusion” are present. Even the NZZ clearly does not view local projects in the same light as proposed projects in other Swiss Cantons.

Auf der Strasse hörte ich zwar  
sehr viel die Meinung: Macht  
doch gleich einen richtigen  
Schritt!

4\_NZZ 09.05.2006

We may conclude that the subject has a strong echo in newspapers. In general, the NZZ gives the topic a positive reception and contributes to the promotion of this policy for reasons of efficiency. In the case of projects in the Canton where the newspaper originates from, the position tends to vary, probably to cater to the sensibility of a part of the audience.

In this way, the NZZ is supportive of fusions in general, and its contribution means that fusion in the newspaper's own Canton would at least be successful in a second round of voting.

In Le Temps, the situation is somewhat similar to that of the NZZ. The fusion of communes is seen in the commentaries as a positive element of institutional change, being an effective and modern way of answering contemporary challenges. The reforms are “obvious” and accepted without reservation.

Apparently, the failures of fusion projects are perceived as isolated incidents, even though the scale of the failures, even if only partially, could put this belief in question (Mézières, Cully and Val-de-Travers, with each project involving a large number of communes).

Four categories of articles were written ; those that show the results of fusions, positive or negative (in the Jura with Saignelégier, in the Valais with the failure of Binntal), comments, editorials and chronicles, all positively in favour of fusions, those explaining the processes implemented in the fusion, and finally interviews with specialists on the subject. Although some counter-arguments are present, most of these categories are oriented towards positive aspects of the fusions.

The articles concern 5 of the 6 French speaking Cantons (Geneva is not included in the debate), along with the Swiss-German Canton of Glaris, turning the fusion of communes essentially into a regional question. The Canton of Fribourg is given as a model of success, with the other examples (Neuchâtel, Jura, Valais) being presented in comparison to Fribourg. Fribourg has thus become the standard by which the success of fusions is now measured.

The semantic fields employed when discussing fusion are related to imposition, equalisation, debt and public management. Only the PALM project (Lausanne Morges Agglomeration Project) widens the debate by presenting action plans which provide the fusion spatial implications. Beyond this project, land planning is not a topic included usually in the fusion of communes. Issues of land availability, but above all cultural issues on the meaning of possessing and retaining its own territory may restrain the enthusiasm of the communes for fusion.

## 2. ROAD PRICING AS A MEANS TO REDUCE CONGESTION

Zachary Patterson, Prof. Philippe Thalmann

**T**he notion of road pricing is based primarily on economic social welfare theory and the concept of consumption externalities. Consumption externalities are costs imposed on society as goods are consumed. Congestion and pollution from automobile traffic are classic consumption externalities. Justification for road pricing is that levels of congestion and pollution are too high to be socially optimal. It is argued that these externalities are too high because consumers (drivers) do not pay for the costs they impose on society. Road pricing advocates maintain that by charging people for driving, the amount of driving can be reduced to a socially optimal level. Road pricing has only been applied in few locations with the most influential location being London in 2003. The example of London (and more recently Stockholm) has been the impetus for discussions about road pricing in Switzerland.

— Et il va encore s'écouler beaucoup de tours de roues sur les routes suisses avant qu'un projet voie le jour, car la Constitution interdit aujourd'hui les péages routiers, à l'exception du tunnel du Grand-Saint-Bernard.

5\_LT 27.01.2006



Reaction to the debate around road pricing has been different between the French and German-speaking parts of Switzerland. In the French-speaking part, official opinion has tended to be less supportive of road pricing. An article from January 27th, 2006 in *Le Temps* gathers the opinions of a number of public figures with respect to road pricing. The Assistant Secretary General Responsible for Transportation in Geneva is quoted as saying that road pricing was not being considered in Geneva. The mayor of Lausanne is reported to have said that while road pricing is something that could be considered, other measures to encourage people to take public transit were more important. From the perspective of stakeholder groups, opinion is not quite as homogeneous.

An official of Touring Club Suisse (an automobile lobby group) exclaims that there will never be road pricing in Switzerland. The president of the Swiss Transport and Environment Association in Geneva, on the other hand, is very much in favour of road pricing in Geneva. Furthermore, the reaction in the German-speaking part of Switzerland has been more amenable to the overall concept than in the French-speaking part.

The road network of the Canton of Zurich is regularly congested and it is expected that traffic jams will increase in the coming decades. Politicians on the Right are calling for massive road infrastructure. Politicians on the Left argue that more roads will attract more traffic and that priority should be given to slowing the fragmentation of living and activity spaces. Developing the new cantonal masterplan (plan directeur cantonal) gave the parties the opportunity to oppose their arguments. Since the Right holds the majority in the cantonal parliament, all proposals of the Left to slow down mobility were rejected. With one exception: road pricing !

Die Minderheitsanträge von SP und Grünen wurden zuweilen im Minutentakt abgeschmettert. Einen -zwar wackligen- Erfolg konnten sie aber dennoch verbuchen.

8\_NZZ 24.01.2007

The NZZ article of January 24th, 2007, shows why the smallest possible majority of the Zurich parliament agreed to give the cantonal government the mission to develop a road pricing instrument. Clearly, financial restrictions forbid building all the high performance roads the Right would like to get built. For certain on

the Right, road pricing promises to generate the needed cash for more streets. It promises for the Left to discourage driving, especially on saturated segments during peak hours, and generate cash for public transportation. MPs debate about whether road pricing should be applied to the entire Canton or only the most saturated segments, whether the Canton should develop its own solution or wait for a national solution, and whether road pricing should be an additional tax or replace existing taxes.

Il n'est jamais bon de lancer en même temps deux projets politiques qui concernent le même thème.

6\_LT 16.09.2006

Dabei ist nicht an kundenunfreundliche, komplexe und auf bestimmte Sitzplätze in bestimmten Zügen fixierte System zu denken, wie sie im internationalen Verkehr um sich greifen, sondern vielmehr an den simplen Neun--Uhr-Pass des Zürcher Verkehrs verbundes, [...]

7\_NZZ 07.07.2007

An NZZ editorialist opens a more general debate on July 7th, 2007. Applying the old liberal tradition of the newspaper to the problem of saturated roads, but also congested public infrastructure, he proposes to apply higher usage prices for periods and segments of higher use. The rail company is already offering cheaper fares for travelers who start their trip after 9 am or youngsters who travel after 7 pm. The equivalent approach for the road network is a form of road pricing. The editorialist suggests replacing the lump-sum car registration fee by a road usage tax that generates the same revenue, yet is sensitive to demand.

If road pricing is to be tested or implemented in Switzerland, it will likely require a constitutional amendment. An article from September 16th, 2006 reports on this subject by explaining that the Swiss Constitution states clearly the exemption of taxes for road use. This clause was included in the constitution of 1848 as part of the abolition of tolls between

the Cantons. While exceptions to this rule are possible – as is the case with the Great St. Bernard Tunnel – it remains unclear if road pricing at the communal or cantonal level could receive the same treatment...

### 3. URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS POLICY

Louis Boulianne, Adrien Mulon, Martin Schuler

**T**he Urban Agglomerations Policy is an original and major attempt by the Swiss Confederation to control territorial development in Switzerland. The launch of its policy supporting model urban projects sparked numerous responses and initiatives from the Cantons. The prospect of funding transport infrastructures through the infrastructure fund has reinforced this interest. The revision of regional policies via the NPR has also caused the Cantons to review their performance and territorial organisation. The issue concerning

La Confédération a déjà prévenu : pas question de pratiquer la politique de l'arrosoir.

9\_LT 5.06. 2007

[...] Neuchâtel est un canton urbain qui s'ignore, prétérité par sa structure bipolaire.

10\_LT 12.02.2007

urban areas is a major change in the structuring of territorial development. Unfortunately, this issue is not sufficiently perceived by the press, emphasizing occasional local difficulties in implementation.

Aside from the specificities of each of the projects mentioned in Le Temps articles (Bern, Fribourg, Genève, Lausanne,

Delémont, Neuchâtel), several themes stand out as structuring elements in the development of urban areas: autonomy of the commune, fusion, institutional levels, and horizontal and vertical collaboration. These themes, although they sometimes overlap, are perceived to require separate consideration by territorial decisionmakers.

However, they all revolve around the central question of the political and territorial organisation of Switzerland in the coming decades. In addition, there is a desire in the political debate on urban agglomerations policy in Western Switzerland to come up with a suitable concept for urban areas.

Finally, measures taking into account neighbouring communes, which are small compared with the city centres, are often non-existent or insufficient in the implementation of urban area projects. It should be added that urban areas which overlap the borders of Cantons and/or national borders face additional difficulties caused by political and economic power sharing. The economic affairs of these areas have an impact which goes beyond borders.

However, regional management is limited by territorial boundaries. Urban policies pushed ahead by the Confederation apply a certain number of rules to model projects and evaluate each one according to precise criteria. The most innovative and promising projects then receive subventions. However, this policy leaves a lot of freedom to politicians to present very varied projects. Indeed, certain Cantons are on the verge of revising their constitutions to create the legal basis for new institutions.

— In der “Netzstadt” Glatttal werden Wohnen, Arbeiten und Einkaufen wie mit einem roten Faden verbunden.

— 11\_NZZ 01.12.06

Urban agglomerations policy could thus be seen as a life-sized laboratory for the future of Switzerland’s most urbanized regions.

— Motto : “so viel Anreise wie möglich, so wenig Zwang wie nötig”.

— 11\_NZZ 01.12.2006

Half of the 30 documents collected in the NZZ concern the Glattalbahn project between Zurich North and the Airport. The other articles, principally technical and concerning public transport, focus on other tram projects in the Limmattal area, with one article on the M2 light rail project in Lausanne. However, the core concern lies in the structuring effects of these projects in suburban parts of large built areas. A pioneering role in Switzerland is attributed to the Glattalbahn, which is perceived as the birth of urban agglomerations policy in Switzerland. Somewhat surprisingly, no other concrete project linked to urban agglomerations policy figures in the selection of press articles.

However, several articles address perceived changes to urban areas highlighted by exhibitions (particularly the Metropoly exhibition), scientific conferences and forums organized by the ARE in 2007. These exhibitions were treated in a de-

Jede Sekunde wird in der Schweiz ein Quadratmeter Fläche zugebaut.

12\_NZZ 26.7.2007

scriptive and neutral manner, despite the obvious importance given to the subject by the journalists. Only the NZZ article dated 26.07.07 on the launch of initiatives aimed at clearer management of urban policy took a stance, insisting on the economic benefits of development in a well-structured urban area, but distancing itself from the measures proposed by the initiatives.

Regarding the debate on urban agglomeration policy, specific elements of the policy are impossible to identify from the selection of articles.

However, the articles show a large amount of support for the urban development of built areas in Switzerland.

## 4. SHOPPING CENTRES: CONTROVERSY IN THE AIR

Louis Boulianne, Simon Richoz

Shopping centres are often in the news. The establishment of a new centre in the outskirts of the city, the arrival of German “hard-discounters”, or new shopping precincts in sports complexes like la Praille in Geneva and the Maladière in Neuchâtel contribute to redefining the relationship between commercial activity and leisure by proposing new “public” spaces.

[...]chez les pauvres, on peut développer les nuisances, car ils ne savent pas se défendre...

13\_LT 15.6.2006

[...]aucun centre commercial suburbain ou périurbain - quelle que soit sa taille - ne peut rivaliser avec l'attractivité d'un centre-ville[...].

14\_LT 27.6.2006

Faced with the development of numerous sale locations, certain Cantons (such as Neuchâtel and Fribourg) are having to deal with political demands for stricter regulation of these commercial activities which are accused of taking up too much space for little added value, causing disturbances and increasing traffic.

The debate includes the question of competition for city-centre shops (Le Temps, 27.06.2006) and between small towns and villages. Statistical data do not allow comparison between Cantons neither do they provide answers regarding the demand.

Heavy competition for surface area in shopping centres between large chains reinforces the impression of a service that largely exceeds the needs of the population.

The provisions of the Cantons' land-planning policies to face this situation vary widely and allow the possibility to guide developments, particularly in terms of mobility. Media and political pressure force the Cantons to specify their strategies for all new infrastructures that generate heavy traffic and propose stricter counter measures to regulate their impact.

— Eigentümer ziehen positive Bilanz nach 100 Tagen.

— 15\_NZZ 06.07.2007

Certain Cantons have already adopted measures intended to reduce the undesirable effects of shopping centre development. Bern is leading the way for Cantons with a strategy in its master plan for institutionalized zones for commercial development. In addition, travel credits are awarded to each traffic-generating project. On the communal level, the city

of Zurich has adopted a system to limit traffic, with the Sihlcity complex [NZZ, 2007.07.06] representing an innovative project. The parking places of the centre's operating zone are shared between different businesses, since their customers access these at different times (for example, a grocery store in the day and a theatre in the evening). The parking allowance is furthermore calculated as an average during the year, so high use by clients at the end of the week or leading up to the Christmas and New Year is compensated by less active periods.

The main benefit of this type of mechanism is eliminating the contradiction between measures for environmental protection and sustainable urban planning. Urban

— In der Tat ist Sihlcity aus verkehrspolitischer Sicht bis jetzt eine Erfolgsgeschichte. [...] Erfreut zeigte sich gestern der VCS Zürich.

— 15\_NZZ 06.7.2007



planning laws recommend the development of cities from within. However, city centres have the poorest air-quality. By limiting individual motorised traffic, shopping centres can be built close to city centres and respect the limits of environmental provisions. Although Sihlcity only opened recently and its commercial success is yet to be proven, the preliminary statistics show that only twenty percent of the centre's customers use their car. It must be said that a very good level service of public transit is provided, with simultaneous access by train, tram and bus.

This use of measures linked to environment protection in order to regulate the negative effects of shopping centres is certainly an interesting option. However, the global question of shopping centres is not solved, as occupied space within the urban tissue and city centres remains a pertinent issue.

En dix ans, le volume de stationnement de Balexert a crû de 38% et 86% des clients s'y rendent en voiture.

16\_LT 15.06.2006

# 5. BROWN-FIELD SITES: AN OPPORTUNITY, WHY AND FOR WHOM?

Guillaume Dekkil, Laurent Thévoz

**T**he two selected articles in *Le Temps* discuss the potential of industrial wastelands in towns of the Frenchspeaking region of Switzerland, accounting for about 1'700 ha in total surface area, to implement large-scale urban projects. Their regeneration would allow 300'000 to 500'000 new homes. The revival of these areas often involves additional costs linked to the cleaning of the site and mobilizing land owners. Complex processes must be put into action.

The revival of industrial wastelands responds to objectives for territorial development of agglomerations, such as the RER railway system in Western Lausanne or the possibility to solve the housing crisis in la Praille (Geneva) to name a few. Industrial wastelands offer attractive perspectives for urban projects, notably to use resourcefully industrial heritage, promote social and functional diversity, improve transport possibilities and

Le site de la Praille ne cesse de faire rêver de par son potentiel.

17\_LT 2.4.2007

evidently promote sustainable development. Motivation to make sustainable development a core interest of the project improved unity among various col-laborators and helped motivate the owners to get involved. In another approach,

Pas de doute que le Flon se profile en tant que pôle culturel.

18\_LT 29.7.2002

the Flon area in Lausanne, benefits from a central situation. The long-established cultural and social ac-tivities of the area were one of the resources for its revival. Its potential was observed by many people and enabled a debate on the nature of social and commercial functions, with further discussions on social diversity in this emblematic neigh-bourhood.

In NZZ articles, brown-field sites are portrayed as an important reserve of constructible land. The question of how to make the best use of this land comes down to “what to build” and “where”. Finan-cial analysts in the real estate market propose a diversification of investments and look for new niches. They claim an interest in innovative projects, such as a university complex or the creation of a museum of public interest.

Bisherige Erfahrungen haben gezeigt, dass es sich lohnt, die mit dem Marketingansatz entwickelten Nutzungsideen auch dann zu verfolgen, wenn sie in erster Lesung nicht der Bau- und Zonenordnung entsprechen.

19\_NZZ 14.11.2006

Doch das Quartier verändert sich vielleicht schneller, als uns lieb ist.

20\_NZZ 22.12.2006

Their strategy is based on the ob-servation that temptation must be resisted to invest in traditional property investment activities, such as housing or office space, because of low return in the medium term.

In terms of territorial development, this strategy leads to land specialisation, with “pockets” of profitability for the most attractive sites. What is to become of sites on the outskirts of towns not attractive enough for innovative projects to be envisaged? Who says that former industrial sites can and should be used in accordance with their elevated property value? An easy solution, which is hard to resist, would be to turn certain second or third-grade zones into areas for the construction of affordable housing. This would foster socio-spatial segregation that has begun to appear in Switzerland.

The revival of brown-field sites in Switzerland represents an important increase in the availability of constructible land that is well-inserted into the urban tissue, which is thus easy to develop. Who will shoulder the costs? Equally, who will profit from the revival of former industrial sites, at a time when the city is becoming more densely constructed and populated?

## 6. WHICH MODEL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALPINE REGIONS IN SWITZERLAND?

Camille Gonseth, Mathis Stock

One of the main problems raised in the book by Diener et al. (2005) concerns the qualification of urbanisation in the Alpine regions of Switzerland: apart from an Alpine city or resort, there are no true alternatives.

Consequently, Alpine regions outside of this category are considered “fallow”. This qualification has triggered considerable discussion within Switzerland. What should be done with these peripheral regions? How should new constructions be conceived? For several years, numerous large real estate projects have been planned in the Swiss Alps. Consequences of these large projects on mountain regions and, more generally, orientations and restrictions applied to the development of these regions raise an impassioned debate between different sorts of stakeholders : tourism professionals, politicians, environmentalist groups, architects and town planners, local populations and secondary residential homeowners.

Current renewal of the real estate sector in mountain regions results from the conjunction of several favourable factors, such as the increased demand for secondary homes, the lack of professional beds in ski resorts, the expectations

placed on real estate projects by local authorities, the increased accessibility of certain Alpine regions, a favourable business environment, etc. In this context, the proposal made by the Federal Council to abrogate a law to render land ownership difficult for foreigners in Switzerland (referred as Lex Koller) has greatly contributed in animating the debate on mountain region development. Indeed, many consider that the abrogation of the Lex Koller would strongly increase the demand for secondary homes, thereby stimulating an already very active real estate sector.

Faced with this possibility, environmentalist groups emphasise the potential impacts on both the environment and landscape. For their part, several tourism professionals and politicians fear that abrogation increases property speculation and the already large number of rarely occupied beds ("cold beds") in ski resorts. The Federal Council has also underlined these issues, consequently relating the abrogation of Lex Koller to the revision of another federal law for regional development. However, this will is severely criticised due to the federalist framework that strongly characterises Switzerland.

Il serait bon que, à l'instar de Berne ou de Fribourg, le Valais décrète quelles stations doivent être encore développées et quelles zones doivent être dévolues à la nature.

21\_LT 25.11.2005

Il devient urgent de penser à de "nouveaux modèles pour capter les touristes", insiste le directeur de l'office de tourisme (Savognin GR).

24\_LT 4.2.2006

Moreover, the objective established in the revision, which aims to keep an equilibrium between the number of primary and secondary homes, is also criticised per se. At the local level as well, some criticise all the measures adopted or proposed by local authorities to cope with the saturation of the real estate sector and the proliferation of "cold beds". The

debate focusing on the advisability of such measures emphasizes pertinent oppositions within the economical fabric of ski resorts. For instance, interests of property developers, estate agencies and the building sector do not exactly correlate to those of ski area operation companies. Beyond the controversies on

particular real estate projects, we can observe that the opposition between different models of mountain region development has become increasingly pronounced. While mass tourism is contrasted with luxury tourism, urbanisation of mountain regions is equally contrasted with the maintenance of authentic Alpine villages and lifestyles.

A particular example, the conception of a future resort in Andermatt, illustrates the ongoing process of planification, negotiation and conception. Andermatt, situated on the Gotthard pass in the Uri Canton, is a small village of roughly 1'500 inhabitants where military and railway has been the only economic activities apart from agriculture and tourism. This is the location chosen by the Orascom

group, an Egypt-based construction company chaired by Samih Sawiris, to invest about 1 billion Swiss francs in order to build a master-planned tourist resort. The project should comprise of several 4- and 5-star hotels, a golf course and villas. This development occurs simultaneously with an economic crisis generated by

Jetzt heisst es für Andermatt:  
Alles oder nichts.

23\_NZZ13.5.2007

[...]alle begrüßen [sie] die  
Analyse der Basler Studie,  
treten aber entschieden  
gegen die Resort-Bildung und  
ein alpines, folkloristisches  
Disneyland an.

23\_NZZ 5.1.2007

the withdrawal of the military in Andermatt, one of the reasons an opposition did not take place. However, oppositions traditionally are pronounced in similar contexts in Switzerland towards large projects in small communities.

The question remains whether this kind of project could be generalised as a solution for all the "fallows" in the Alpine regions. Pros and cons exist, yet the specific context must be taken into account.

## 7. DIGGING UNTIL REACHING A FINANCIAL DRAIN

Yves Putallaz, Panos Tzieropoulos

**O**n June 15th, 2007, Switzerland inaugurated the new 35-kilometre long Lötschberg base tunnel, considered a civil engineering and project management achievement. The tunnel was built within the expected time frame and allocated budget. The Lötschberg tunnel constitutes the master piece of the first of two corridors that will greatly enhance rail performance and capacity for the North - South traffic crossing Switzerland, linking Italy to the Northern Europe. The second corridor, which crosses the Alps trough the Gotthard massif, is expected to be put into service at around 2017.

Building very long tunnels is extremely expensive and involves high technical and financial risks. Unsurprisingly, the undergoing Gotthard tunnels construction suffers from high additional costs, which should be covered by the public transportation infrastructures fund (FTP). As the latter should also cover the national railways expansion schemes (ZEB), many citizens fear that various ZEB projects will have to be abandoned or postponed until 2020 or 2030.

[...] les surcoûts à répétition du quatrième chantier plombent l'ensemble.

25\_LT 29.3.2007



With future abandoned ZEB projects playing a key role for the sustainable development of the country, one may question the decision of building two parallel transalpine axes within such a short distance, only separated by less than 100 km. This is especially questionable as the Finance Ministry first recognised signals of financial difficulties in 1993 and forced significant downscaling of the Lötschberg project to a partial single track line tunnel instead of double track, which in turn hampers significantly the capacity of the system.

— Malgré les nombreux doutes exprimés face à la nécessité de creuser deux tunnels, la population approuva à 63,6% cette stratégie le 27 septembre 1992.

— 26\_LT 14.6.2007

— Why did Switzerland decide not to choose between the Gotthard or the Lötschberg? To understand the underlying processes, let us outline the facts that lead to the decision of building two separate lines. When studies on the transalpine line first began, the tunnel under the Gotthard became the accepted choice, as that corridor was the natural and most direct way through the Alps between Germany and Italy. Moreover, the Gotthard plays a key role in the country's own development by improving service be-

tween the Southern part of the country (Ticino) and the economic centre. However, occidental Cantons started to evoke the idea of the Lötschberg line, based on a tunnel section much shorter than Gotthard due to the already existing Simplon tunnel (however, the Simplon southern ramp consists of an Alpine line with a rather steep gradient).

— Verkehrsminister Leuenberger stuft diesen Fall als exemplarisches Lehrstück ein [...].

— 28\_NZZ 14.10.2006

— Die Letzten werden die Ersten sein.

— 27\_NZZ 11.6.2007

— Furthermore, geological conditions were less severe for the Lötschberg line. For a couple of years, there was a fierce battle between Gotthard and Lötschberg supporters. Finally, the government decided to pro-

mote a global project including both lines, due to the joint effect of the “Alps Initiative” law, imposing a drastic reduction of heavy haul traffic on mountain roads, and bilateral agreements with the European Union, requiring a credible rail alternative to the lorry limitations through the Alps. The Lötschberg was also the only line that could be realized before 2010. As Swiss citizens had to approve the global project, the government was also not willing to take the risk that Western Switzerland would reject the project, because of feelings of territorial inequity.

This is a case where a complex combination of regional concerns, equity issues, specificities of the decisionmaking process, technical and scientific challenges and financial limitations led to decisions that: a) may not be well understood by an external observer and b) may impact significantly the progress of other highly-needed developments.

## 8. URBAN SPRAWL AND COUNTRYSIDE: LIVING WITH A COMBINATION INSTEAD OF AN OPPOSITION

Laurent Thévoz, Monique Ruzicka Rossier

**U**rban sprawl and the transformation of countryside are two unstoppable dynamics in Switzerland and many other nations. They

Les zones construites progressent d'un mètre par seconde en Suisse, ce qui correspond à 3000 terrains de football par an.

30\_LT 11.7.2007

Hierbei seien die kommerziellen Interessen des Hoteliers und die Ansprüche der Öffentlichkeit gleichermassen berücksichtigt.

32\_NZZ 9.3.2007

modify the use of countries' territories and raise the question of limiting public intervention, faced with social trends and the paradoxical discourse seeking to "freeze time" with demands such as "hands off my landscape". The challenge is to

find a combination in order to deal with urban sprawl and the evolution of the countryside with its natural heritage collectively, rather than opposing the two problems.

Urban sprawl sweeps away landscape, versus a concentrated development of the city over the city.

L'addition de plans d'aménagement communaux, trop souvent sans concertation inter communale, ne constitue pas une politique d'aménagement du territoire!

29\_LT 1.3.2007

Partisans of the Swiss Law on Town and Land Planning consider this law unsustainable. They note that almost a quarter of the buildings in Switzerland are built on agricultural zones, where the construction of one third of the new dwellings also takes place. In a more urban context, Geneva is currently experiencing a housing crisis, with different political parties divided by two questions:

1. Should we use the countryside areas currently classified as zones devoted to agriculture?

2. Which population should we build for?

Faced with this dilapidation of space, the director of the Federal Office of Territorial Development clarifies that the Confederation does not have many options to stop urban sprawl. In 2007, the Swiss Government (Conseil Fédéral) proposed to repeal the Lex Kohler, a law placing restrictions on the acquisition of land by foreigners. In reaction to this form of liberalisation, an initiative comity

Umfragen zeigten, dass die Wiederansiedlung von Wolf, Bär und Luchs in den Städten und Agglomerationen auf weit grössere Akzeptanz stösst als in ländlichen und vor allem in den Berggebieten.

31\_NZZ 6.1.2007

lead by Pro Natura has suggested freezing construction zones for 20 years. The main objective of this moratorium is to stop the rural landscape from being swept away by urban sprawl.

*The wolf as a political figure, or when flora and fauna threaten Swiss landscape*

The arrival of the wolf in Switzerland highlights the lack of agreement about the type of Alpine landscape desired by the Swiss population. Should these areas be transformed to promote wildlife, or rather should the general occupation of the territory be maintained?

The increasing number of sheep has the advantage of providing farmers in mountain areas with a steady income and maintaining the present state of the landscape, a vital element of our tourist industry and collective imagination. Unfortunately, they are also the preferred prey for wolves. The increase in sheep

conversely increases the number of wolves. This paradoxical situation generates public debate currently confined to Alpine regions between locals who defend their livelihood and city-dwellers in favour of wildlife preservation. The latter outcome would equally become a problem for city-dwellers, since they would be deprived of "their" Alpine landscapes.

— All dies zusammen wird dafür sorgen, dass der Wolf in der Schweiz bleiben wird. Die Antwort darauf kann nur lauten: Anpassung und Herdenschutz.

— 31\_NZZ 6.1.2007

— This new plain-mountain or city-country opposition will intensify

over time, taking on a new importance when the wolf, not respecting any urban-rural boundaries, begins to wander into the plains neighbouring heavily populated areas. Currently confined to a limited number of people, the debate will take on national importance, preluding to a popular initiative for or against the wolf.

## 9. OVER-ROMANTICISING RURAL LIFE: A DISSERVICE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE?

Monique Ruzicka-Rossier

**B**etween December 2004 and May 2006, a controversy that pitted job creation against landscape conservation dominated the Swiss press. The story concerned the construction of a biotechnology plant on a 55-hectare greenfield site in the village of Galmiz in Western Switzerland. As the country

is made up of 26 autonomous (cantonal) governments which manage their own territory, the possibility of a jobs' bonanza (the biotech firm planned to create close to 1,200 new jobs) in a region where the dominance of agriculture in the local economy was being gradually eroded by the industrial sector generated serious conflicts of interest. All possible arguments were used to defend what was considered good. Opponents, largely from the German-speaking part of Switzerland, especially from the cities of Zurich and Basle, cited non-compliance with town and land planning legislation, the urgent need for soil conservation,

Fribourg a la possibilité d'apporter une contribution très sensible au redéploiement industriel de notre pays.

34\_LT 6.5.2005

and the supremacy of national landscapes over local employment sites. Supporters, mostly the local population, stressed the importance of maximising the synergies between the economy and agriculture.

Astonishingly, the French-language press restricted the debate to the impact on the landscape. Different associations became involved, such as the Swiss Foundation for Landscape Conservation and its President, Erika Forster (who also happened to be married to the President of *economiesuisse*, the Swiss business federation), Pro Natura, WWF, and ASPO (Swiss Association for the Protection of Birds). A sort of coalition between two official camps emerged: business circles on the one hand and Swiss nature conservation groups on the other. The German-language press, in contrast, widened the debate to other areas, such as

Le possible renforcement du pôle économique de Suisse occidentale gêne-t-il à ce point les milieux de la finance zurichoise ou de la chimie bâloise? Le lobbying anti-Galmiz est en tous les cas puissant et organisé.

33\_LT 21.12.2004

Von daher ist die Vermutung, dass es noch mehr Fälle wie "Galmiz" geben wird, nicht von der Hand zu weisen.

the role of the Confederation in company localisation, the ability of the Cantons to pre-empt such decisions and to respond quickly to such situations.

36\_NZZ 13.5.2006

The proceedings showed the Galmiz dilemma also applied to the country as a whole. It raised further issues too, such as striking a balance between national and local interests, the precise definition of what constitutes national interest, the relationship between the economy and the landscape, and the importance

Kurz, Galmiz ist der Ausdruck völlig ungenügender eidgenössischer Instrumente sowie grosser Illusionen sowohl über die Zwänge des Weltmarkts wie über die hausgemachten Wirkkräfte der Zersiedelung.

35\_NZZ 6.3.2005

given to agriculture. How should any profits be shared among the regions? How is it possible to share a collective heritage while not penalising some populations? How can we create a common good for the Swiss space according to the diversity of its conurbations, towns and outlying areas? Would this problem have arisen if Switzerland had developed into a sort of national city — a city comprising diverse socially and functionally mixed neighbourhoods, all concerned by national functional, economic, financial and social coherence, and connected by high-speed transport links, distributed across natural well-conserved landscapes?



# Specific Themes at the Local Level

## 10. LAUSANNE WEST: ONE SPACE, ONE PLACE; ONE TERRITORY?

Géraldine Pflieger

**A**s the Los Angeles' area is frequently called The South Land by its inhabitants, there is also a strange space in Switzerland which is known by no other name than its geographical location: Ouest lausannois (Lausanne West).

The topography of this area is quite flat and has, over the last fifty years, provided a wealth of land suitable for development. During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Lausanne West experienced an industrial employment boom, which was followed by the arrival of the Lausanne University and the Federal Institute of Technology campuses.

Later, the proximity of these universities provided the ideal conditions to develop high-tech firms and start-ups, which in turn led to the emergence of myriad companies working in the services sector. The area was also the site of commercial development, with huge malls built at the intersection of two major roads. This long period of free economic development, the "conquest of the west", with little municipal intervention continued until the end of the 20th century. First a space of economic development and then one where people could directly experience the American way of life, Lausanne West would become the main focus of regional planning in the Greater Lausanne area at the turn of this century.

At the present time, there are two challenges. First, Lausanne West, while considered a “bad” space due to its lack of urbanity and architectural identity, is above all a space with great formal diversity (old farms, workers’ cottages, gardens, sports fields, close proximity to Lake Geneva) and one that is ripe with potential. Continued demographic growth has given rise to the need for new urban projects in this area [Le Temps, January 3rd, 2006] which boasts excellent great road and rail accessibility. Lausanne West has even been given a new name: “PALM” (Projet d’Agglomération Lausanne-Morges). PALM is now the new model of “best practice” for Lausanne planners.

L’enjeu, c’est surmonter les disparités et les rivalités communales pour accepter de réfléchir en termes de région.

37\_LT 3.1.2006

It is a three-in-one project: (1) a way to cope with the institutional, and fiscal, fragmentation of the area by proposing shared objectives; (2) the tool for local authorities to obtain new federal funding, and (3) a label for all brand-new local projects which are flourishing in the Lausanne Region (the new sports’ stadium and the City of Lausanne Art Museum, the dismantling of a section of the motorway, the development of a new tram

line, and new city-centres in Renens and Bussigny). However, the political backing enjoyed by PALM could produce a new disequilibrium, not only in relation to Lausanne city centre, but also to the northern parts of the city which have yet to enjoy the same political attention [Le Temps, March 13th, 2007]. Like any institutional territory, the creation of the PALM Region could set up new frontiers with serious side-effects.

Le déséquilibre entre le Nord et le Sud de la ville [de Lausanne] est déjà trop flagrant: on l’accroît encore.

38\_LT 13.3.2007

# 11. THE POLITICAL PRAILLE PROJECT (GENEVA)

Jérôme Chenal

**T**he collected articles in Le Temps concern three types of projects in the Praille area. The first development project, a shopping centre, was established based on a new model to create a leisure mall. A second project, originating from the national railroad company, wishes to develop housing in the Praille district, while the third project includes offices and housing in the entire Praille-Acacias-Vernets neighborhood, which should eventually become the new business district of the city. This third project attracts the attention thereafter.

The journalists of Le Temps favour the presentation of the project, with many figures, images, and references, creating a controversy for reader's letters and the reaction of the FAS (Swiss federation of architects, the Geneva section), thus avoiding to take position themselves on the project.

Partout, les villes tirent parti des friches urbaines, comme de leur meilleur potentiel, dans une optique de densification.

39\_LT 22.5.2007

The presentation of the project has been made by the relevant city and state counselors (Mark Muller and Robert Cramer), who come from different political sensibilities, thus avoiding the politisation of the project along party lines.

The justification of the project is first that the construction of 6.000 housings would allow to make some annual 300-400 million fiscal revenue, which are currently lost by the Canton of Geneva to its neighbour (the Canton of Vaud). The stake is financial, and about territorial competition, openly with Vaud but also with French bordering areas. Another justification of the project is to counterbalance the situation of paucity of housing. Then, the interest of the project seems to slide from the aspects of fiscal returns to urban symbolism and resides only on the "Place de l'Etoile", the public space where will be located Switzerland's highest tower (175 m). The neighborhood should be fashionable, full of life day and night, absolutely metropolitan.

In conclusion, the newspaper covers the subject from the urban shape and urban policy point of view only, without giving us the required alternate reasons of the financial sector and of the urbanists about the quality and the feasibility of the Praille's project.

[...] par son ampleur, le projet de Genève pourrait devenir exemplaire.

12\_LT 22.5.2007

## 12. A NEW LAKE GENEVA CROSSING

Prof. Vincent Kaufmann

**A** new Lake Geneva crossing (“Traversée de la Rade”) has been the subject of recurrent, and by now well-worn, debate. The idea originally emerged in the 1960s, driven by the desire to make the city more car-friendly by constructing a series of major roads that would divide urban neighbourhoods into a

grid-like formation. While this project has since been abandoned, the new Lake Geneva crossing idea lives on. In 1988, the population of Geneva voted in favour of the project; eight years later a second referendum was held and the project to build a new bridge or tunnel across Lake Geneva was rejected. Besides considering the cost of the project exorbitant (estimated at CHF 1 billion), the electorate of Geneva was also concerned about the environmental impact of this new transport link, as well as the fact that it seemed out of step with the intention to develop public transport services in the area. The present article on transport links across Lake Geneva implicitly takes account of this fact.

Promouvoir un projet de transport isolé sans en soigner l’enveloppe, en l’occurrence le projet d’agglomération franco-valdo-genevois, est voué à l’échec.

42\_LT 27.10.2006

The new Lake Geneva crossing is at the centre of a debate in which local stakeholders are mired and thus unable to reach consensus on what shape this project should take. One of the key questions is deciding whether a tunnel or bridge should be built in order to reduce the volume of traffic on the Mont Blanc quays and bridge. But is the distribution of power in these negotiations always asymmetrical? How can a trade-off be reached between this type of construction project which is irreversible in the short to medium term and traffic management measures which are much simpler to reverse? A negotiation of this kind pre-supposes a climate of trust between stakeholders, a climate which is sadly lacking in Geneva due to past negotiations which were marred by political dirty tricks. It is clear that under current conditions, the successful conclusion of the debate on the new Lake Geneva crossing cannot be expected any time soon. Furthermore, the Swiss parliament and government are reluctant to approve any federal funding for this project [Le Temps, October 27th, 2006], while this situation persists.

# 13. WHEN THREE SHOULD BECOME FOUR, BUT FINISHES AT NOUGHT: THE STORY OF THE THIRD LAUSANNE-GENEVA RAILWAY LINE

Willem-Jan Zwanenburg, Dr Panos Tzieropoulos

**L**ausanne and Geneva, 60 kilometres apart on the shores of Lake Geneva, are linked by a four-lane motorway and a double-track railway line. Both modes of transport are heavily saturated during peak times in both directions.

La fréquence a augmenté, mais la durée est la même qu'en 1970.

43\_LT 29.3.2007

This explosion in demand is primarily due to an economic boom, comparable to that of the Greater Zurich area, in both the Cantons of Geneva and Vaud; the increasing importance of this corridor for long-distance transport is also a factor. Besides, for those towns in between, cramped between the shores of the lake and the Jura mountain range, the motorway and the railway line are their only links to the outside world.

This rising demand had been foreseen, and a capacity increase for the railway line was proposed, as far back as the 1980s, in the famous Rail 2000 plan. It is worth noting that the much needed capacity increase does not necessarily have



to take the form of a third line over the entire distance, and in reality it does not. The structure of a regular-interval-based timetable means that to increase overall capacity, investments in infrastructure have to be concentrated in specific locations, and not spread uniformly along the line.

Nevertheless, the “third Lausanne-Geneva railway line” question has started to take on a life of its own, especially since it was left out of the first phase of the Rail 2000 plan, only to be rejected later, to much surprise, by the federal government in spring 2007. The reason behind this decision was the escalating costs of the new Gotthard base tunnel – which everyone could have easily predicted. Given its “sacred cow” status in Switzerland, other projects had to be sacrificed. Although the Lake Geneva region (which includes both Lausanne and Geneva) is facing problems of the same magnitude as the Zurich region, the so-called Golden Zurich Triangle, has been given priority. This reflects not only objective and unquestionable needs, but also partly ineffective tactics adopted by political representatives in the Lake Geneva region, and - more importantly - the role played by their heavyweight counterparts in Zurich, who distort the bases that underpin federal policy decisions.

Moritz Leuenberger, [...] a réaffirmé que l’on pouvait résoudre les problèmes de surcharge de trafic entre Lausanne et Genève par d’autres moyens que la troisième voie, tels que trains à deux étages et adaptation des quais.

44\_LT5.4.2007

## 14. THE CROSS-BORDER METROPOLIS OF BASLE: FROM A EUROPE OF REGIONS TO A EUROPE OF CITIES

Prof. François Golay

**W**ith one third of its 600,000 inhabitants living in France or Germany, the Greater Basle area can be considered a prototype for transnational and cross-border cooperation.

The considered NZZ press review elegantly shows the slow but sure evolution and maturation of cross-border processes from general, very tentative but not particularly results-focused cooperation projects towards integrated and cooperative metropolitan development. For more than 40 years, and until the early nineties, many projects had been supported by programmes anchored in international agreements (Interreg, for example) and mostly with a focus

Um das allfällige Weiler Finanzproblem zu lösen, hat sich der Regierungsrat in seinem Ausgaben-Bericht vom November 2006 bereit erklärt, die Planung auf deutschem Gebiet mit einem Beitrag von einem Drittel zu unterstützen.

4\_NZZ 11.5.2007

on fostering regional development of “a network of cooperating cities” on such issues as economy and education. Since the beginning of this decade, though, the focus has slightly, but unequivocally, shifted towards cross-border city planning and development.

Transportation systems – especially tramways, in the very “green-minded” city of Basle – have all been of interest for cross-border development during this period. However, solutions cannot be considered from a too general or theoretical angle, and very soon projects will have to be designed and implemented to support metropolitan development, such as extensions of tramway lines to France and Germany. For example, the extension of the Line 8 tramway from Basle to Weil is currently generating a great deal of interest and support in the German city.

However, the institutional platform is still far too dispersed and chaotic, resulting in the interlinking of many different agreements and councils at not only tri-national or tri-regional levels, but even as far down as the intermunicipal level. This situation severely hampers the efficient decision-making processes needed to support actual metropolitan integration. Furthermore, given the spare financial room for manoeuvre of German and French cities in the Greater Basle region and stringent Swiss policies on fostering metropolitan integration, it may be a long time before the Line 8 tramway can become a pioneering example of a promising integration project.

[...] mit der Partizipation Basels werden kleinere Städte Teil einer “Metropole”, was ihnen erlaubt, bei der Verteilung von regionalen Förderungsmitteln im eigenen Land oder in Brüssel ein gewichtigeres Wort mitzureden.

45\_NZZ 1.9.2006

From a broader perspective, is this shift from minor, somewhat chaotic cooperation agreements towards more institutional metropolitan integration actually a sign of the inexorable cycle of history? Does it reflect a slow, but genuine maturation of cross-border integration? Or could it simply be a malicious sign of political opportunism, where local and regional governments struggle for money depending on the prevailing policies of their national governments? In other words, it would seem that today political support and funding are more likely to be found for truly integrational projects at the metropolitan scale, like a new

tramway system, than for those that merely foster friendly regional cooperation. Is this for the best or for the worst? We shall wager a bet on the former, insofar as one real cooperative achievement is worth a thousand cases of promising political intent.

## 15. A NEW TRAMWAY LINE IN BERN: HOW TO DEAL WITH DEMOCRACY?

Christophe Jemelin

**T**he case of “Tram Bern West” during the early 2000s illustrates the role of direct democracy in planning new local infrastructures. The process (2 projects, 4 referenda) resembled a soap opera, with every newspaper article on the subject finding it necessary to provide a brief overview of the twists and turns in the plot so far.

The story begins in November 2003 with a city referendum on a CHF 153 million-project to build a new 7.4 km long line which would connect the neighbourhoods of Bümpliz and Bethlehem to the existing tramway network.

Das Berner Tram als rote Sache und als Ausdruck links-grüner Dominanz?

47\_NZZ 28.11.2003

Political opponents of the project argued that “it’s a luxury, not a necessity” [NZZ, 28.11.2003], but a majority of voters (63.3%) accepted the proposed city funding (CHF 18.6 million). However, it should be noted that 55% of Bümpliz and Bethlehem residents rejected the project. Given this result, an anti-tram committee, led

by a member of the right-wing Swiss People's Party, called for a cantonal referendum, proclaiming "No more lossmaking public projects". For the project supporters, the tram was vaunted as a "symbol of the city's economic good fortune" [NZZ, 08.05.2003]. However, as a later headline suggests "Tram Bern West not in service" [NZZ 17.05.2004], the result of the cantonal referendum was a no, albeit a far from resounding rejection; it was passed by a mere 50.4%. Once again, though, Bümpliz and Bethlehem residents still voted against the project.

Tram Bern West hätte die überlasteten Buslinien in die Aussenquartiere Bümpliz und Bethlehem der Bundesstadt ersetzen sollen.

48\_NZZ 17.5.2004

Nevertheless, planners remained convinced that the tram was the only and best transit solution to connect these neighbourhoods to the city centre. What would it take to convince voters and local residents? One of the reasons why this group voted against the project appeared to be the direct impact of this new line on traffic volume. Yet, this was at odds with the actual plans: the new tram line would run on the existing roads and not on new designated lanes. A new project was put forward, which proposed a new route and a reduced budget. The referendum process was repeated. A local referendum was passed on November 2006 by 70.2% (Bümpliz and Bethlehem continue to dissent, with only 47% voting yes); the cantonal referendum later held in June 2007 was also accepted (70%). So, how did the story end? The West Bern neighbourhoods ultimately approved the project.

What can we learn from this tortuous process? In the case of the Tram Bern West project, a range of coalitions were against the project: for political reasons (no public investment), for local reasons (opposition from local residents demanding changes to the original project), for reasons of "scale" (rural areas could not see any advantage for them from investing a great deal of money in a public transit project for the capital). Yet, the planners and the municipality of Bern won the day, by promoting the tramway as the only technical solution possible, and by taking the initiative to call a second cantonal referendum on the revised project.



**Conclusion:**  
Spatial Development  
in a  
Twilight Zone

Prof. Jacques Lévy



**T**he selection of newspaper articles and the 15 commentaries proposed by Inter scholars illustrate the intense spatial development debate that currently rages in Switzerland. These assessments, though, agree on a number of important points.

First of all, spatial planning is one of the most controversial issues in Swiss political debate. This is all the more striking given that the country is generally seen as one where political life is predominantly characterised by solid consensus-seeking between various actors with often differing opinions. On transportation and urban planning as well as on environment and heritage issues, it would be an understatement to say that consensus does not reign supreme among the Swiss population.

One of the reasons for these passionate discussions must be sought in the fundamental characteristics of the inhabited space, an environment that is, simultaneously and from the outset, partial yet total, fragmented yet comprehensive, individual yet societal. This allows for the partial overlapping of, and sometimes monumental contrast between, opposing spatial planning ideas. For example, if we take the Galmiz controversy, there were the opposing camps of economic dynamics on the one hand, and the protection of the natural landscape on the other. In both cases, they bore the mark of mythical representations: the predatory, unscrupulous financial raiders in one corner, and an untouched Eden lovingly tended by the peasantry in the other. To couch it in less bombastic terms, Galmiz pitted pragmatic, development-oriented players against narrow-minded, conservative lobbies.

This kind of opposition results, by and large, from the emergence of individuals as fully-fledged spatial planning stakeholders. The rise in the negotiating power of a growing group of tenants and owners is now clearly evident on the “place market”. Furthermore, the power to challenge government decisions which the ordinary citizen has wholeheartedly embraced, particularly in Switzerland, enables the disruption of official policies by the *de facto* agency of resolute sections of civil society.

More specifically, when public policies, supposedly developed in the general interest, are implemented without the required level of public participation, individual choice and infra-local lobbyism can challenge and undermine any urban planning or territorial development project.

Yet, these complex configurations are made more controversial by a historical indecision with regard to the different models linking society, nature, and space. In a context where there is no overall agreement on the nature of what is desired, the importance given to environmental issues in territorial conflicts grows. The current dilemma of choosing whether to continue the urban sprawl or to tackle a dense and diverse urbanity illustrates the difficulty of deciding between two incompatible ways of making the space liveable. Spatial development principles seem to be trapped in a twilight zone, where the legitimacy of the elites and experts does not always concur with the wishes of the majority. As long as this Gordian knot remains tangled, spatial development will continue to be the Achilles' heel of sustainable development.



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## AUTHORS REFERENCES AND PUBLICATIONS

Louis-M. Boulianne, economist, scientific researcher, Community of studies for urban and regional planning, EPFL ENAC INTER C.E.A.T.

Carried out an economic impact assessment of designs for towns and cities, on behalf of the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) and AER (2004-2005), in collaboration with Ernst Basler + Partner.

Co-managed the international, French-language platform on towns and cities (2003-2008), including Basel, Fribourg, Neuchâtel, Lausanne and Geneva, in collaboration with AER.

Carried out research on behalf of CORAT and the Building and Planning Service (SeCA) of the Canton of Fribourg, concerning shopping centres and urban and regional planning, 2008.

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**Jérôme Chenal, b. 1973, is an architect and urban planner. He works with the Laboratory of Urban Sociology (Lasur) in The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology - Lausanne. His current researches concern the link between spatial transformations and social mutations, at the crossroads of architecture and lifestyles, urban planning and street-level practices. His empirical investigations take place in Switzerland and in French metropolis of Africa, where he develops new methodological instruments for urban research using especially photography.**

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**Guillaume Dekkil is a town planner within the Community of Studies for Town and country planning, in EPFL. After studies at the Institut d'urbanisme de Grenoble (France), he accomplished missions of advice to state, regional and local authorities in the department of Drôme then in the island of Réunion. Since 2007, he leads works of research and expertise of the processes of city's production and management, to urban plans and to processes of territorial development.**

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**Francois Golay is the head of EPFL's GIS Lab (Research Lab for Geographic Information Systems). His research interests are related to improving the value and empowering the users of geographic information, for environmental and land management purposes as well as for related research activities. He is especially focusing on :**

- **spatial decision support systems ;**
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- **promoting and assessing the value and usability of GIS ;**
- **exploratory spatial analysis and visualisation of geographic information (particularly on the basis of spatial and aerial imagery).**

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**Camille Gonseth was born in Geneva, Switzerland in 1978. A graduate of Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL) in environmental science, he received his PhD from EPFL in 2008. Camille Gonseth was a member of the research lab on the economics and management of the environment (REME) from 2003-2008. He is now working at the Institut Créa de macroéconomie appliqué of the University of Lausanne. In his thesis, Camille Gonseth investigated adaptation to climate change in the Swiss tourism sector. In particular, he explored the consequences of snowmaking facilities investments on the ski area operation companies' financial situation. His research interests also encompass the analysis of voluntary approaches in climate policy, the efficiency analysis of green tax reforms and the empirical investigations of the "Porter hypothesis".**

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**Christophe Jemelin, PhD, b. 1971, is a geographer, and is working in urban mobility field. He has conducted researches since 1995 at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (Lausanne). His PhD (2004) is related urban public transport quality of service in France and Switzerland, comparing the goals of operators and the perceptions of the customers. His main activities are statistical analysis of mobility (microcensus) and researches on modal split in various urban forms. In addition to national research programs - PREDIT (France) / PNR (Switzerland), he took part in the European program GUIDE (Group for Urban Interchange Development and Evaluation) and in project BEST (Benchmarking European Sustainable Transport). Since mid-2008 he is working in planning department of Lausanne Public Transit Authority.**

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**Vincent Kaufman is assistant professor of urban sociology and mobility at Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL). After a master degree in sociology (University of Geneva) he did his Ph.D. at EPFL on rationalities underlying transport modal practices. He has been invited lecturer at Lancaster University (2000) and Ecole Des Ponts et Chaussées (2001). There fields of research are: mobility and urban life styles, links between social and spatial mobility, public policies of land planning and transportation.**

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**Jacques Lévy is ordinary professor in geography and spatial development at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Lausanne, where he is the director of the Institute of Territorial Development (Inter) and of the Chôros Laboratory. He is also co-director of the Collège des Humanités. He works on political geography, urbanity, Europe and globalisation, on the conceptualisation of space within social theory as well as on epistemology of geography and social sciences. He is co-editor of the *EspacesTemps.net* online journal, member of the editorial board of *Political Geography* journal and is the scientific adviser of the *Pouvoirs Locaux* journal.**

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**Adrien Mulon** graduated from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology of Lausanne - EPFL (BSc in 2005 and MSc in 2007) in Environmental Sciences and Engineering with a specialisation in territorial planning. Then he started at the lab of urbanism and spatial planning of EPFL (EPFL-ENAC-INTER-Chôros) as a scientific assistant for 10 months and worked on the city's federal public policy with the city of Neuchâtel – Le Locle – La Chaux-de-Fond (RUN) as a case study. Thereafter, he joined the teams of the *Projet d'Agglomération Lausanne-Morges (PALM)* and of the *Schéma directeur de l'Ouest lausannois* as a project assistant.

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**Zachary Patterson** is currently Modeling Specialist at the Montreal regional public transportation planning authority (Agence métropolitaine de transport). For two years he was a postdoctoral researcher at the Transport and Mobility Laboratory of the EPFL. He received his PhD from McGill University where he was co-supervised in Urban Planning, Civil Engineering and Geography. Before undertaking doctoral studies he worked as an economist for the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (the NAFTA "Environmental Watchdog"). His most recent research and publications have dealt with transportation and urban modeling.

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**Geraldine Pflieger** is Assistant Professor of public policy and regulation at the University of Lausanne (Institute of Political and International Studies). With a PhD from the French National School of Bridges and Roads (LATS), she has worked as guest researcher at the University of California at Berkeley (Institute of Governmental Studies) and scientific researcher at the Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (LASUR). Her current research combines an analysis of network industry regulation with an analysis of issues connected with the governance of major cities, focusing on the modernisation of urban services.

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Yves Putallaz was born in 1971. After receiving his bachelor's degree in electrical engineering, he worked in the testing department of the former ABB's locomotive factory in Zurich. Deciding to study transport sciences in greater depth, he joined the Civil Engineering department of the Swiss Technical Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL). In 2001 he received his diploma in civil engineering, and soon after became part of the research staff at the Laboratory of Intermodality and Transport Planning (EPFL-LITEP) under the direction of the late Professor Rivier. While there, he worked in the field of rail infrastructure maintenance and its correlation with railway capacity issues. Specifically, Mr. Putallaz managed the audit of the French rail network; a project carried out by a team of 15 specialists from diverse areas of expertise and resulting in the publication of the well-known "Rapport Rivier". Mr. Putallaz received his PhD in 2007, and is currently a maintenance and railway specialist at the Swiss office of Oxand, a consulting company based in France.

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Simon Richoz has a Master's Degree in Environmental Science and is currently doing a PHD at the Institut de politiques territoriales et d'environnement humain (IPTEH) at the University of Lausanne. He has worked at the Communauté d'études pour l'aménagement du territoire (C.E.A.T.) since 2007. He put in place a post-graduate course in spatial planning and has taken part in various research projects. Simon Richoz is interested in the relationship between territory and health. He conducts research more specifically on the issue of the impact of spatial policies on health as well as on the theme of health as a territorial resource.

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Monique Ruzicka-Rossier is an architect graduate of the EPFL. In charge of research at the School of Architecture, Civil and Environmental Engineering in the fields of the urbanized areas and their intermediate spaces. The privileged topics are the production process of the city, the density-diversity of urban areas and their typologies. Lecturer in the domain of territorial development and town planning, she is in charge of teaching units on territorial projects binding urbanity, environment and mobility. A project leader in territorial planning in the Lemman Metropolis with the agglomerations of Geneva and Lausanne. Member of the Directory of Faculty ENAC. Judge assessor at the admin-

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**Martin Schuler, 1946, professor EPFL and general secretary of CEAT (Lausanne).**

**Studies in geography in Zurich and Reykjavik. Main fields of activity: Urbanism and land planning; regional policy projects; territorial statistics, mobility and migrations. Editor of different Atlas projects in Switzerland, Iceland and Kyrgyzstan, conceptual works, spatial and social definitions (urban agglomerations, typology of the communities, socio-professional categories); demographic projections and scenario building.**

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**His research questions the notion of dwelling grasped through a theory of practice. He focuses especially on situations where geographical mobility is implied, and in particular on the practices taking place in touristic places.**

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ning and local sustainable development initiatives, as well as the design, the implementation and evaluation of public policies reforms in these fields. He is also working abroad, supporting multi-stakeholder process management in the field of territorial governance, primarily projects involving local and regional development, economic development and projects with a high spatial impact.

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**Dr Panos Tzieropoulos** is heading the EPFL's Laboratory for Intermodality and Transport Planning. Born in Salonica (GR) in 1951, he got his EPFL Civil Engineering Degree in 1975 and his PhD in 1981, with a thesis on the relevance of disaggregate mode choice models. He teaches Transport Systems Planning and transport Demand Analysis. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the World Conference on Transportation Research Society, and a member of the International Scientific Advisory Committee for the COMPRAIL series of conferences. He directed the audit on the capacity allocation for the French railways. His current research interests include transport planning, public transport operations design and assessment, human implications, and conflict management and resolution.

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**Willem-Jan Zwanenburg (1978)** holds a MSc degree in Civil Engineering from the Delft University of Technology (the Netherlands, 2002) and has finished in 2008 his PhD at the Laboratory for Intermodality and Transport Planning, part of the École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (Switzerland). He was involved in various infrastructure and railway related projects, among it an audit on the complete French railway network and tests for running high-speed trains with speeds up to 360 km/h.

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# PART II

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## Spatial Planning: the Achille's Heel of Sustainable Development



Space:  
A  
Scientific Think Tank  
on  
Spatial Development



# INTRODUCTION

## MISSION AND OBJECTIVES

In Spring 2006, supporting the proposal of his newly elected director, Jacques Lévy, the Inter Institute (ENAC/EPFL) decided to organise an event that would give the opportunity to discuss urban and territorial development issues in an environment that could take advantage of the critical spirit prevailing in an academic context. SpaceWatch is the result of this orientation. SpaceWatch is now a component of the Swiss Spatial Sciences Framework (S3F).

SpaceWatch is a scientific think tank on spatial development, it aims to become the landmark of an independent strategic thought on spatial development in Switzerland, thanks to the exchanges between Swiss and international experts on the major issues of the field.

SpaceWatch is designed to be an innovative place for knowledge production. It will be based exclusively on scientific excellence, independent from political decision-making, but ready to play an important civic role in fulfilling the demands of society regarding the inhabited space.

Switzerland needs to make the smartest use of its limited territory. Many other countries, though they may be larger, face the same scarcity of soil resources as population expectations are continuously growing. Territories, their potentials and their constraints, should be well documented and analysed in order to assess contradictory claims that converge towards them and to make the most sustainable choices for their development.

SpaceWatch's mission is two-fold:

1. Develop a foresight watch on the current status and the future trends of spatial development in Switzerland and Europe. Pertinent and reliable information on spatial development will be delivered on a regular basis. Sustainable spatial development indicators or standards will be provided and discussed.
2. Invite a limited number of high-rise experts from abroad to work with Swiss scholars on Swiss and European territorial development in the scope of a Scientific Committee of about 15 to 20 members (the SpaceWatch Workshop). This Committee will convene yearly to formulate a white paper containing recommendations for future policy (inspired from the model of the German Five Wise Men).

Moreover, SpaceWatch would bring an on-demand expertise on current spatial development issues, the publication of annual results of foresight watch, and an annual public event to present its activities and recommendations to the general public.

SpaceWatch will interact in network-mode with a cluster of Swiss and foreign universities.

Thus Inter created a new think tank, responsible for making a clear assessment of spatial planning and design in Switzerland.

This book is the report of the first SpaceWatch edition, based on the analysis of the spatial development issues in the Swiss press and on the SpaceWatch Workshop held on May 15th 2008.

In May 2008, following the recommendation of the working group it had created, the Council of the EPF decided to support the creation of a ETHZ, WSL, and EPFL joint scheme called Swiss Spatial Sciences Framework (S3F), of which SpaceWatch is a component. This means that the next edition of SpaceWatch will be incorporated into S3F as one of three coordinated events organised in 2009-2010. SpaceWatch 2 will take place in February 2010.

## SOME CRITICAL ISSUES

The following are some of the key issues that SpaceWatch aims to discuss :

- Does Europe need an urban and regional development model?
- Which areas should research in spatial sciences be encouraged to address?
- What is meant by participatory planning?
- Is urban spread harmful? Is it inevitable? What would be the alternatives?
- What are the links between spatial planning and energy issues?
- What are the most suitable scales for spatial development?



## THE WORKSHOP SERIES

On 15 May 2008 took place the first edition of the SpaceWatch workshop at EPFL.

The “Achilles’ heel of sustainable development”, referred to in the title of the workshop, set the tone.

A panel of 12 Swiss and European spatial planning and design experts took part in the opening workshop. Its aim was not to find consensus, but to hear a range of conflicting viewpoints, and to breath new life into the debate on these issues in Switzerland.

A series of ideas for further study emerged, which triggered a lively public debate in the final session of the one-day workshop, in which some 80 people participated. A frank exchange took place between experts in the theory of spatial planning and practitioners, including planners, architects, and officials from municipal, local and national authorities.

The discussion was intended to open up new areas for study in a more comprehensive analysis of sustainable spatial development, addressing issues such as: the variable quality of access to different towns and regions, contrasted with demands for more equal treatment in this regard; a comprehensive and sustainable mobility policy, and the promotion of a political environment and governance better suited to the increasingly urbanized character of contemporary Switzerland.

Some of the underlying conditions with a significant impact on urban and regional planning, such as private property and zoning, were also referred to during the debate.

## THE OUTPUT: EIGHT NEW PROPOSALS

This book sets out the eight proposals that came out of the workshop, framed by both the personal comments later produced by the experts as well as excerpts from the actual discussions.

With a view to building a coherent approach to spatial development, SpaceWatch intends to organize further workshops to discuss these and other ideas, encouraging widespread participation in what is intended to become a permanent forum for public debate.

To find out more, we would encourage you to visit our website: <http://spacewatch.epfl.ch>.

You may also register at [spacewatch@epfl.ch](mailto:spacewatch@epfl.ch) to be kept informed of major events relating to spatial development in Switzerland and abroad.

***Sonia Lavadinho, Jenny Leuba & Mélanie Pitteloud***

## INVITED SPECIALISTS

MARIO ALVES

Consultant, Lisbon, Portugal

BERNARD DEBARBIEUX

Professor, Université de Genève, Switzerland

YVETTE JAGGI

Professor, Université de Lausanne, Switzerland

JACQUES LÉVY

Professor, EPFL, Switzerland

MONIQUE RUZICKA-ROSSIER

Architect and Town Planner, EPFL, Switzerland

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## DISSENSUS VERSUS CONSENSUS

While the debate on urban and territorial development in Switzerland rarely goes beyond a sterile consensus, there are in fact numerous interpretations of the best way or ways to achieve sustainable development through planning.

SpaceWatch aims to make an active contribution from academia to this debate, by creating an open forum, where people from various backgrounds take it in turns to express their views according to the principle of dissensus. The public is entitled to expect ideas in constant evolution, as well as an intellectual debate among thinkers with divergent views on key issues. Academic researchers, without necessarily agreeing with each other, still have a role to play as committed observers and in making proposals, in order to fast forward the collective thinking towards a more sustainable territorial development.

*Sonia Lavadinho, Jacques Lévy*



# 8 Proposals

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Switzerland  
has changed,  
is changing and  
will continue to  
change.

Let's **change**  
our image  
of  
Switzerland!

Increased mobility,  
mass urbanisation,  
globalisation,  
the virtual economy,  
multiple and fluid identities:

Instead of looking at the  
Switzerland of years gone  
by, let's face up to the  
Switzerland of **today** and  
**tomorrow!**



The risk in  
our society  
is to have an  
image of our  
pace of change  
that is the  
wrong one.

Jacques Lévy

Urban and regional planning and, especially, architecture, tend to be overly conservative in nature.

Yes, planners and architects need to consider how to protect nature, monuments and sites (as one of their main responsibilities, in fact,) but they should also encourage projects that respond to the major challenges currently faced by society on a number of fronts: sustainable development, quality of life, the cost of housing and transport, the incentive to work from home provided by new technologies, or the revival of ancient villages... (the repopulation of rural areas doesn't have to be a threat to our sacrosanct agricultural areas!)

Why are there so many organisations and departments responsible for the protection of this or that, and none for the promotion of progress?

Michel Favre (participant in the debate)

The growing relevance of the **knowledge economy** is a driving force slowly altering regional development and spatial functional specialisation. Their impact often goes beyond the official spatial development policies of the government system.

The reality of economic structures shows that the centres in the two emerging European Mega-City Regions of Northern Switzerland and of the Arc Lémanique are indeed strongly linked by Advanced Producer Service firms' organisational networks.

Smaller centres depend for their economic development on strong central cities, where advanced business-relevant knowledge is either produced or imported for the entire region.

**These links shape a large metropolitan region. But as these interrelations do not correspond with visible morphological structures or administrative entities, they are mainly hidden.**

A first priority for action is to make hidden economic links and dependencies visible and accessible for relevant policy makers, planners, as well as the whole public.

***Alain Thierstein***

Today every observer describes **a changing Switzerland**.

This constant change is evident, for instance, in the way in which land is used, particularly in the Plateau region.

Scientists talk about metropolisation and urban sprawl, increased mobility and fluid borders, the necessary densification of towns and cities, and protection of the countryside.

**The media and the public remember catchy slogans, such as “1m2 / second” or “Downtown Switzerland”.**

Many people are frightened by the development of the “concrete jungle”, but are far less troubled by the intensive building of houses cluttering up the countryside. Consciously or not, they fall back into age-old aversions to the city or give in to the futile nostalgia for a rural, Alpine Switzerland.

Thankfully, some observers remain clear-sighted and manage to draw up a coherent Urban Portrait of Switzerland. They call for Switzerland to come to terms with the changes that have taken place, at least in the reality of the country, if not in its image, as far as it appears in the minds of its own politicians and its general public.

***Yvette Yaggi***

[1] DIENER Roger et al.(2006) La Suisse. Portrait urbain. ETH Studio Basel, Birkhäuser.

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What kind  
of  
Switzerland  
do we  
want?

Organise an **ongoing**  
public debate in order to  
raise people's  
**awareness**  
of the long-term spatial con-  
sequences  
of their actions and enable  
them to participate in the  
development of a coherent  
approach to urban and re-  
gional planning and design.

A first question is how people behave in space.

A second, and very different question, is how people choose to invest themselves within a particular network of places, allowing for territorialisation.

Bernard Debarbieux

We have cities in our luggage and we carry this notion everywhere we go. But other people in other places in the world view cities, and what lies outside the cities, quite differently.

In some parts of the world, for instance, the dichotomy is not so great between what is a city and what isn't. In asian civilisations, people do have a different way of looking at urbanised territories, where the surroundings play a more important part. Shouldn't we learn how to cast a different look upon our own cities?

Monique Ruzicka-Rossier

Public debate should not be  
restricted to voting times,  
but should be

an ongoing  
discussion,  
building an aware-  
ness of our actions  
and their short- and  
long-term impact.

Jacques Lévy



## The contribution of multiple stakeholders to the collective project:

Urban and regional planning still harks back to its pioneering days when, understood as a professional skill, it depended exclusively on the know-how of a select few and the political will of elected representatives.

Those days are a thing of the past, for two main reasons: first, political decision-making processes have changed and elected members of parliament no longer have a monopoly on decision-making; secondly, responsibility for planning is no longer seen as the reserve of highly-qualified professionals, but also, increasingly, of the inhabitants and users of a given area or place.

In other words, the inhabitants and users of areas and places to plan or develop have gone from being passive recipients (of resources, benefits, etc.) to being active in the design, adoption and implementation of measures.

This change has come about for a whole variety of reasons:

- a greater concern for democracy,
- a dose of pragmatism (gaining trust and therefore efficiency) and common sense (local inhabitants still know their environment better than anyone).

The growing demand for participation illustrates this trend. Nevertheless, these changes may have resolved some problems, but they have also exposed planning and design to new difficulties.

This is of course true with regard to participation, which can be broadly open and interactive, in which case it allows for genuine democracy gains, but which can also give a leading role to individuals speaking on behalf of unrepresentative, minority groups.

Another, less frequently evoked, problem, lies in the differential in terms of spatial cultures and know-how.

The quality of public debate is only as high  
as the capacity of participants to adopt a  
common language, even if they choose to  
express divergent views.

The launching of a public debate about urban and regional planning requires some prior thought about what vocabulary to adopt, what graphic representations to use, and how to make the best use of everyone's varying strengths and weaknesses.

The participation of multiple stakeholders in the debate requires each of them to have a clear idea of their responsibilities, both in contributing to the debate itself as well as in analyzing the objective consequences of their way of thinking or their actions on space.

In other words, public debate requires an enhanced, and indeed responsible, form of reflexivity.

Only then can it genuinely benefit from opening up to a broad range of contributions and stakeholders.

***Bernard Debarbieux***

A misunderstanding, which could be full of consequences, exists today in the public debates on “territorial projects”.

By this I mean the confusion between the drawn project, as an architectural project can be when it is brought to be carried out as it has been designed, and the territorial project as an ongoing process, in which the path which is followed to achieve the goal is in fact much more important than the goal itself.

For example, if the images produced in the “Portrait urbain de la Suisse” (Herzog, de Meuron, Schmid, 2007) had the merit to answer a fashionable question, namely “what about the national territory?”, they would completely miss their target if their goal was meant to propose a possible future of Switzerland.

This type of drawing is the negation of the territorial project and can on the contrary produce simplistic stereotypes that may reveal themselves rather devastating for the territory.

A territorial project, on the other hand, is the result of an agreement and the responsibility of a great number of actors concerned and implied in the decision-making process, others that the architects, engineers and town planners; the choices bear upon space incidences, across several scales and in many diverse fields.

The territorial project proposes a coherent possible future, validated by political actors, and supported by the population.

It has nothing to do with a rough caricatural image, but consists in a whole process where the strongest stakes reside in things which are not seen.

Thus it is rather uninteresting to see spaces partitioned in “zones” called “calm” or any other name for that matter.

More than in the layout of its limits, it is in its bonds that the future of a territory is revealed, and in flows which exist between places, people, objects, and in the relations between all the actors.

All actors, rather more so than the so-called experts, are the true makers of the territory.

*Monique Ruzicka-Rossier*

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Space  
helps us  
to be  
  
competitive.

The entire range of costs and advantages of different spatial choices must be taken into account, in particular the need for energy efficiency, and including costs that have yet to be expressed clearly in economic terms, in defining urban and regional planning and design policies.

Location choices structure space on the quiet. Reasons for those choices go beyond the physical factors to embrace virtual factors such as encounters and flows. We need to more seriously consider how people and firms behave.

Alain Thierstein

Three issues are at stake here :

- (i) the spatial impacts of the knowledge economy;
- (ii) the rescaling of spatial development, implying a debate on which tools and policies could best achieve this goal;
- (iii) the role of the use of relative prices of resources.

Alain Thierstein

We need  
to come up with a  
thorough  
impact model  
of land use  
that includes  
long-term costs.

Alain Thierstein



To think about the costs of spatial choices, we have to consider simultaneously the three main topics of urban development:

### **Mobility, Metabolism and Intensity.**

**Mobility** Every settlement is committed to respect specific measurable criteria in developing mobility: thus to fit sustainability a built surface would have to be accessible by public transit, while this accessibility (namely its infrastructure needs) should not induce heavy environmental costs, (i.e. in terms of emissions, impact over landscape, etc.)

**Metabolism** Every settlement has its own metabolism (a system of input and output of fluxes of energy, water, waste, etc.). Its processes (i.e. recycling of waste and water or energy distribution) can be more or less expensive and more or less sustainable.

**Urban intensity** Every settlement builds upon from a mix of density, diversity (i.e. of functions: residential, tourist, commercial, leisure, industry...), and size (small town vs. metropolitan space). These factors define its "urban intensity". For low intensity settlements, higher mobility will result in more emissions and higher energy consumption per capita, since their metabolism is more demanding, etc.

Management costs and in-depth cost-benefits analysis - including urbanisation costs and real estate market - should be considered in the light of these three topics.

However today we do not dispose of adequate tools to improve sustainability and reduce costs of spatial choices (see proposition IV). Research actions in these topics remain therefore fundamental.

***Gian Paolo Torricelli***

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Energy represents one of this century's biggest challenges in terms of sustainability, in particular for spatial development. We are talking here about the impact of both energy consumption and supply.

From a climate policy perspective, the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has revealed that – if we are to avoid catastrophic climate change – the average global temperature must not be allowed to rise more than 2°C, requiring a reduction in global greenhouse gas emissions of around 50% by mid-century. Evidence is also mounting to support the theory that the global output of crude oil will soon peak – if it has not already done so.

Owing not least to the need to secure future energy supplies, a significant increase in efficiency and a reduction in consumption in the energy sector is needed, together with the promotion of renewable energy sources. These challenges are becoming increasingly relevant to spatial development, as spatial development trends are currently laying claim to around half of Switzerland's energy consumption. The same applies to the consumption of raw materials, which is also approaching its limits.

Urban metabolism  
needs to be slowed down.

In the future, far greater emphasis will be placed on the reduction of energy (and raw materials) consumption in spatial development policy – through spatial and transport organisation measures and in construction. The use of renewable energy sources in rural as well as residential and built-up areas must be given even more weight in terms of spatial development.

*Daniel Wachter*

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One of the main problems that leads to sprawl is that transport users are not aware of the full costs of mobility. This is a well established economic problem: most costs are not a direct result of mobility.

These external costs are nevertheless extremely damaging to society as a whole – just to name some of the health risks, the burning of fossil fuels enabling us to reach cheaper square meters contributes also to birth defects and disorders like asthma, emphysema or cancer. A study<sup>[1]</sup> calculated that the total external cost of road transport in EU-15 + Norway and Switzerland in 2000 could reach more than 500 billion Euros per year.

None of the costs related to climate change, noise, air pollution and so on are charged to the road user.

On the other hand, The European Environment Agency<sup>[2]</sup> concludes that Road transport, which is the most important contributor to environmental problems within all transport modes, receives 125 billion Euros in annual subsidies.

In this context it is quite normal, and to be expected, that the consumer reacts to all this unbalanced accounting with irresponsible travel behaviour.

Until all modes are charged their full cost, including their external costs to society, it will be very difficult to fight urban sprawl.

### **Mario Alves**

[1] IWW, INFRAS: Facts on Competition in the European Transport Market (FACORA), final report, Zürich, Karlsruhe, 9. November 2004

[2] European Environment Agency 2007: Size, structure and distribution of transport subsidies in Europe. EEA Technical report No 3/2007.



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Sustainability  
depends foremost  
on our  
towns and  
cities  
and respects the  
diversity  
of spaces.

An effective response to the demands of each of the three pillars of sustainable development requires an immediate halt to urban sprawl, the strengthening of towns and cities, and the development of urbanity by the densification and diversification of functions. In this context, the issue of zoning merits further reflection.

Functional zoning is not a good solution for our present problems. In order to cope with the principles of sustainable territorial development we should consider giving it up. On a countrywide scale, zoning increases the demand for mobility and can be counterproductive.

I am more sensitive to alternative views that try to organise at a local scale as many resources as possible, even those pertaining to nature and landscape, in order to allow everyone to find what they need close to where they are.

Bernard Debarbieux

Let's get rid of  
zoning  
and  
introduce  
full cost  
accounting.

Alain Thierstein

The issue of private property and its protection constitutes an obstacle to zoning reforms. Private property is very strongly upheld in Switzerland.

Gian Paolo Torricelli



We cannot  
make  
Switzerland  
one single  
big city.

Silvia Tobias

The idea of developing complementary regions can turn it a trap. Setting up a strict division of labour between different regions is not a solution. The problem lies not with the region itself, but resides in the wellbeing of the people living there.

Maybe other development tracks are more suited to introducing diversity within the same region. Peripheral regions should have quite the same infrastructures as urban regions.

Christian Schmid

What can we offer  
people to make them  
wish to remain outside  
of the realm of urban  
life, lacking some of its  
amenities?

Silvia Tobias

Sustainability is bound to respect the diversity of spaces; in my view, there is no spatial hierarchy, where the economic spaces of towns and cities take precedence over the remaining, second-class spaces. There are aspects beyond the purely economic dimension that must be taken into account, such as energy, transport, the landscape, etc.

Silvia Tobias

Will we, somewhere in the future, be able to build another value system where environmental and societal services are valued as much as economic services?

Silvia Tobias

Urban and regional planning and design are governed by laws and regulations adopted by the Confederation and the Cantons. This legal framework should be designed as a safeguard, strict enough to prevent errors but also flexible enough to allow for projects that respond to the current context and local needs.

For instance, the Federal Ordinance on unrestricted zones (*hors-zone*), together with the vast amount of related case law, is a disastrous mistake: these areas, depending on their geography and customary use, require different treatment.

If we think of music or painting, a work of great quality cannot be produced by rules alone.

Michel Favre (participant in the debate)

Space inhabited by Man, in the West, is characterised spatially by three organisational choices, whose goals are to offer a pleasant framework of life to the population of the cities: the specialisation of the territories, the spreading out of networks systems – therefore, of the urbanisation - and the dispersion of activities.

Specialisation in sectors is an effective solution to protect the inhabitants from the harmful effects of industrial, commercial, and even leisure activities.

Zoning, based on a strict recognition of the limit, is then the basic device which instruments the specialisation of the territories.

The spreading out of urbanisation, initiated by the railroads then the car, makes it possible to offer to a great number of individuals a pleasant framework of living in close connection with nature.

Appears then a concentric organisational logic where zoning is declined in successive layers around the downtown area. The more the distance to the centre increases, the more human density decreases and the more accessible the grounds become financially, while being always accessible by individual, and sometimes public transport.

The dispersion of activities could thus be perhaps understood as much as the resultant of these two actions, than as a collective choice to relegate elsewhere certain functions deemed to be incompatible with the dwelling.

Thus, contrary to the original intention which was to offer a framework of a good quality of life to the population, zoning operates a dilution of the intensity of land use and induces automobile dependence and its corollary of nuisances.

Each institutional territory nevertheless sticks to defining a multitude of zones, even though zoning supports the dispersion of activities, and reinforces the possibility of building grounds at lower costs far away from the main urban centres. Specialisation, spreading out and dispersion have negative impacts on built and inhabited space when the basic aims were to improve life's framework.

Thus the very same devices which were to support a measured use of the soil have an opposite effect and end up producing urban sprawl.

*Monique Ruzicka-Rossier*

Urban sprawl persists essentially because tools and instruments of spatial planning are today inadequate.

**It's a question of scale.**

**In the urban areas the municipality's masterplan does not correspond anymore to the social and economic relations which underlie urban life.**

In Switzerland today most available building areas are located in peripheral sectors, where we should limit urbanisation and reduce sprawl, while we sorely miss available building areas where we should intensify urbanisation, namely in cities and in metropolitan core areas.

In this case too, **to create adequate instruments and tools, we need imagination** and new research actions and projects.

***Gian Paolo Torricelli***

One of the less mentioned externalities of road transport is the impact of speed in urban density.

The organic city was built for speeds of 10 km/h. This allowed very narrow roads and minimal space for circulation corridors – it is naturally compact and diverse.

When building cities for motorised higher speeds (like 50 km/h or even 80 km/h) the space reserved to movement expands to levels that makes walking or cycling very difficult or even impossible. A car at 50 km/h needs an air-bubble of 150 m<sup>2</sup>. This space, necessary to cope with safety issues, creates an environment of empty under used areas or in the case of higher speeds wastelands of infrascapes - residual zones created along, under, above, beside and around mobility infrastructure.

To build diverse and compact urban environments one doesn't need to build high rises  
– low speeds would allow urbanism to try again groundscrapers instead of skyscrapers.

Low speeds also increase accessibility. A walker or a biker not only can keep their eye contact on urban activities and people, they can also stop and engage in activities virtually at any moment and with minimum requirements for parking space. This higher accessibility can be one of the key elements to the re-establishment of urban diversity.

*Mario Alves*



Cities are open systems that cannot sustain themselves.

Decisive factors of life, like food and energy,  
are produced outside city regions.

Cities even “outsource” human recreation to regions with more natural landscape scenery. The opportunity to go to the mountains or other rural areas thus increases the quality of life within cities.

Therefore, cities must be seen as interconnected parts of a complementary spatial system consisting of urban and rural regions.

*Silvia Tobias*



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Ensure  
equality  
without  
egalitarianism.

In a multi-stakeholder society, equity and complementarity give substance to the principle of equality. Ensure that everywhere is easily accessible and that everyone has equal access. The specific contributions of Alpine regions need to be taken into consideration.

Fairness is the contemporary expression of equality.

It's not about giving the same thing to everyone but about ensuring equal opportunities for all.

Jacques Lévy

The issue of equality is linked to the issue of accessibility addressed in proposal 6.

Should we create accessibility everywhere?

Do we want the formation of metropolises to include the Alps too, and for towns in the Alps to become peripheral suburbs?

Gian Paolo Torricelli

It's vital to  
produce  
quality  
at very  
small  
scales.

Gian Paolo Torricelli

Society has changed so that now you can choose much more than before. Before people had no choice. Now things are different. You can move. It is largely up to you to live and work in certain locations rather than others.

Regarding accessibility, there could be a minimum that should be negotiated for everyone.

But then we as a society have to decide what part of that accessibility is not necessary, what part pertains to the freedom of choice of the individuals, and is not necessarily guaranteed.

This approach would be similar to the two-pillar approach used for pension funding.

Jacques Lévy



While, to many people, rural living may still seem like a form of house arrest, an increasing number of people are now choosing to live in areas with very little infrastructure.

What contribution should be made by society as a whole to support such a personal choice?

Either the same opportunities should be offered to all, irrespective of one's choice of residence, or the issue of personal responsibility must be taken into account.

In this sense, fairness may be understood in one of two ways: fairness as responsibility or fairness in terms of equal opportunities.

*Jacques Lévy*



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Promote  
accessibility  
instead of  
mobility.

Develop a comprehensive mobility policy, giving priority to public and environmentally friendly modes of transport, which are the only means of transport consistent with sustainable development principles.

Provide optimum accessibility without emphasizing any one mode of transport.

# Do sustainable principles have to be inclusive or exclusive?

Jacques Lévy

Sustainable transport is a priority, not an exclusive measure.

The improvement of public transport is of key importance, but neither should we neglect private transport. Rather, we should equally strive to render private transport more sustainable.

Transportation systems do tend to change a lot and fast. We don't know what the car will look like in ten years time.

Daniel Wachter

Is this an “either/or” or rather an “and” policy ?

Jacques Lévy

One should not discuss so much the question of the transportation mode but rather focus on accessibility. Accessibility deals more with a systemic approach of transportation that produces sustainable mobility, rather than thinking about individual modes. This approach could change depending on the territory, leading to different kinds of mobility. In my view we should optimize the overall “ease of access” and not favour any particular transportation mode.

Alain Thierstein

# The question is: “access to what?”

Christian Schmid

Currently the focus has been to facilitate mobility, but we should focus on the quality of access, and put considerably more effort into knowing what this quality of access might be .

Mario Alves



If you are  
against  
sprawl,  
you can't  
be for  
cars.

Jacques Lévy

The issue of the sustainability of cars goes beyond the question of their being clean.

Cars create  
fragmentation,  
cars eat surface.

A dense city cannot afford to accommodate more than a certain amount of cars, because there is simply no room for them.

Jacques Lévy

It should be clearly pointed out that the statement that proposes providing accessibility without privileging any given mode of transport, while in principle correct, has to be closely linked to the existence of a fair and real price structure for each transport mode.

Although this might be unrealistic in the near future, it would be a perfectly legitimate policy to make what we want (in certain contexts) more efficient and what we don't want less efficient.

To try to make everything more efficient in all circumstances is a technocrat vision that corresponds to a lack of politics.

Before figuring out a whole new price structure that reflects what society wants to charge it would appear possible, or even desirable, **on behalf of the precaution principle**, to hinder the accessibility offered by certain modes (namely motorised private vehicles) to certain sensitive areas like city centres or natural areas.

***Mario Alves***



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# Reopen the debate on high-speed trains in Switzerland.

In Europe,  
high-speed trains  
now offer a useful solution  
to the problem of ensuring  
that mobility  
between major regions  
remains compatible with  
sustainable  
development.  
And what about in  
Switzerland...?

Shall I invest  
to travel  
faster  
between some  
major cities,

or shall I spread the money even if  
that means to travel less fast while  
gaining easier access to every city  
I can think of ?

Mario Alves

High-speed  
railway systems  
produce winners  
and losers.  
Winners are connected  
and losers are not.

And for the losers, there might  
be more problems added than  
solved.

Since there are enormous costs attached  
to producing these systems, a careful  
overall evaluation has to be carried out  
for the whole of the regions which are  
affected by their introduction.

Silvia Tobias



In a context  
of finite  
resources,  
priorities have  
to be set.

Investing in suburban railway systems to improve short distance connections could be a higher priority than high-speed long-distance trains.

Mario Alves

The question of what is  
needed more,  
what is needed  
faster,  
is a real question  
that every territory  
should carefully weigh-  
in, as the answer will  
impend on its future  
development.

Mario Alves

In Switzerland two science-driven megacity regions are emerging: Zurich-Basle and Lausanne-Geneva.

To address these trends, **accessibility between Megacity regions becomes crucial**, both at intercontinental and intracontinental scales.

High-speed railway access between megacity regions is crucial in order to complement air traffic and even gradually replace it for short hauls.

In this respect, the lack of high-speed train connections at Zurich Kloten Airport is a hindrance, considering it is the Swiss major gateway to the world.

**Besides, the scale within the megacity region itself should not be neglected: all its different parts should be accessible.**

At this scale there are still quite a few links in Switzerland that deserve largely to be improved, such as the link between Basle and Zurich and the link between Lausanne and Geneva.

***Alain Thierstein***

High-speed railway systems bring cities closer together and take the regions in-between farther away.

By improving inter-urban mobility, we also  
create unattractive, fragmented landscapes,  
where no train stops.

This again underpins **the interconnectedness** of rural “provider” regions and urban “consumption” regions in a complementary spatial system.

***Silvia Tobias***

For more than 25 years, France, then Great-Britain, Italy, Germany, Spain and other European countries have developed high speed railway systems.

In Switzerland, a technically innovating project of high speed trains has been proposed in the 1970s, but "Swissmetro", an underground train with two axes connecting the main cities of the country has never been constructed.

The political decisions taken during the 1980s and the 1990s have instead lead to the realisation of "Rail 2000" and the two Alpine tunnels of the Lötschberg and the Gotthard.

Meanwhile, some parts of the network reach the maximum speed of 160 km/h, while never reaching the high speeds currently favoured abroad. However, the efficiency of the networks should be defined not just by speed but rather by the excellent quality of interconnections between national and regional traffic, by the density of the frequencies, by the free access to any train without reservation, by a quite high transportation comfort and by more or less competitive fares.

On the whole, this fairly comprehensive public transport system has been a positive factor of the territorial development of the country.

Then what are the arguments for high speed trains in Switzerland?

Within the larger European countries, the train is competing with inner airway traffic – this is not a valid argument for Switzerland. In addition, Switzerland already enjoys good connections to the French, German and (soon) Italian centres and airports.

Within the Swiss metropolis, in a radius up to 80 km, high speed trains will not conduct to a better urban system. High speed trains are faster than cars for all interurban connections. Thus, the real change in building up high speed trains would be that of better connections between the metropolis of the country, and especially between Zurich and the Lake Geneva Region.

*Martin Schuler*

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# Governing the urban.

Provide Switzerland with a political environment and system of governance to match its degree of urbanisation.

Promote inter-metropolitan and metropolitan, local governments.

Strengthen the coordinating role of the Confederation.



# Spatial development is not a priority policy ; it is a third-rate policy.

Alain Thierstein

The practical results of urban and regional planning and design appear in projects that, in the main, are discussed, studied and executed at the level of the Commune. Therefore efforts should focus on the level of the Commune. Of course, this very local level is not always the most suitable: regional or inter-communal plans and projects should also be studied and implemented.

Michel Favre (participant in the debate)

There is an ongoing discussion on the advantages of federalism over centralism. Outputs of spatial planning within countries following centralised policies do not fare especially better or worse than in Switzerland. It's a question of political will rather than a question of failing existing instruments.

Daniel Wachter

Spatial development does not catch the public eye. Almost no money is poured into it. There are no legal competences able to truly deal with it.

Alain Thierstein

Territorial Governance in a country that still builds its understanding on the autonomy of the municipalities needs a long haul.

Effective and efficient arrangements are to be evidence-based on answering these questions:

(1) **Economic development:** what is the importance of the two emerging Mega-City Regions for a more competitive Swiss economy?

(2) **Social inequities:** can functionally polycentric Mega-City Regions counter socio-spatial fragmentation and if yes, on which spatial scale and with what impact?

(3) **Environment sustainability:** are the overall consequences of Mega-City Regions formation processes harming or protecting the environment?

(4) **Territorial cohesion:** to what extent do Mega-City Regions processes contribute to or limit Swiss territorial cohesion?

***Alain Thierstein***

Proposals 1 and 8 should be read together because they complement each other perfectly: the former refers to functional spaces while the latter deals with institutional territories.

The institutional dimension can only be addressed by **a major redistribution of powers** among the various national and local authorities that constitute the Swiss federal system. To put it plainly, the proposal to introduce urban governance would necessitate a radical shake-up of administrative responsibilities with regard to town and country planning.

**In practice, the Cantons would need to give up their traditional supremacy in favour of the Confederation, which they see as being ill prepared for such a power shift.**

Indeed, the Confederation has already shown itself incapable of fulfilling – let alone stepping up – its current dual role (as defined in the 1999 Federal Constitution, in similar terms to those contained thirty years earlier in the previous text); namely, to establish the principles of town and country planning and to coordinate their implementation.

**As for the 2700 Swiss Communes, they have no intention of giving up their prerogatives with regard to zoning and land allocation.**

The current debate about second homes is a fine example of the Communes' determination not to give up an inch of their powers over local planning issues.

***Yvette Jaggi***

Since the 1990's the question of territorial reforms has become generally accepted. The theme is in the "air du temps". The proposal of fusions of Cantons has been abandoned after the reversal of the project Geneva-Vaud; but the process of communal fusions has been initiated, with more or less success, in almost half of the Cantons. Fribourg is the only Canton in which a project of a political agglomeration has been introduced.

Switzerland is the only country in Western Europe that has not participated to the territorial reforms in the 1970's on a communal level (Germany, Sweden, and Belgium) or a regional level (Italy, Spain, and France).

Thus the present-day activities can be seen  
as a result of having previously missed a step  
in institutional modernisation.

Regarding urban governance, no scientific work has proven until now that the governance of Basle, Geneva, Zurich or Bern is actually more successful. In fact, even the agglomerations themselves differ widely in their form and function: Basle is a Canton-town, Geneva a Canton-Agglomeration (in a morphological sense), Zurich an urban region and Bern an agglomeration situated within a wide rural context. Switzerland is indeed an interesting observatory of different types of territorial organisation.

These examples tend to prove that coincidence between institutional and functional territories is not per se a guarantee of better governance.

*Martin Schuler*

**Conclusion:**  
Space, a major  
Stake  
for the Future

Prof. Jacques Lévy

As the reader can see, the first edition of SpaceWatch has been an intense as well as a convivial time of collective reflexivity. The only large-scale dissensus that have emerged in the Workshop debates have been limited to a single issue: mobility. The point was whether the sustainable development rationale imposes or not a unambiguous and exclusive choice in favour of public transportation. The minority view was that the necessity of an efficient accessibility for people and goods should not be bargained on whatever other considerations.

This controversy is significant of the underdevelopment of this research field, viewed from territorial development. What is an efficient mobility system, beyond traffic modellers' sacrosanct money/time-budgets? What is the meaning of public/private option in terms of climate change, urbanity, economic growth, political integration? We have of course some clues, and not negligible ones, to tackle this issue, but complex frameworks are still hindered by the yet overwhelming strictly analytic approaches.

On the other issues, there is a consensus among experts, but this does not mean we could find it similarly among ordinary citizens or local governments. All participants have converged to validate the legitimacy of mixing sustainable development and spatial development. This means, for them:

I. Environmental concerns are compatible with the pursuit of a social progress;

II. Spatial development is the potential contribution of spatial arrangement of cities, territories, and networks to an overall societal development.

However, is this agreement among academic experts to be found in the rest of society? This is not granted at all. Where a consensus has, beyond any doubt, been found by all participants of Space-Watch 1 is that there is no consensus in society about the way to translate the principles of sustainability into the multi-layer, multi-actor arrangement of our inhabited space.

It currently seems relatively easy to attain a strong political convergence on energy and construction. In the case of dwelling, that is places and the links between places, the three 'pillars' of sustainable development are even more indissociable than on other fields. Here it turns out to be impossible to separate economic growth, social cohesion, and preservation of natural environment. Here the conflict on the content of a desirable societal development, on the relationship between private and public space, and on the right scale of governmental agency inevitably breaks out.

Are these disagreements liable to be overcome in the next future? This is not so sure either. On the one hand, the anti-growth component of the environmentalist movement is significant, particularly in Switzerland. On the other hand, the agro-industrial lobby is not dead at all, particularly in Switzerland. And in both camps, many protagonists see spatial questions as secondary for being too complicated and lacking of clarity on the points that they believe essential.

Putting human habitat issues first on the public agenda remains a non trivial goal, and this is, namely, why there will be a Space-Watch 2.

*Jacques Lévy*



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This publication compiles the results of the **SpaceWatch** event 2008 which is an interdisciplinary project of Inter. The present book presents scientific comments on the press review highlighting the controversies in public debate on the Swiss territorial development as well as 8 proposals that came out of the workshop gathering Swiss and European specialists.:

1. Switzerland has changed, is changing and will continue to change.  
Let's change our image of Switzerland!
2. What kind of Switzerland do we want?
3. Space helps us to be competitive.
4. Sustainability depends foremost on our towns and cities  
and respects the diversity of spaces.
5. Ensure equality without egalitarianism.
6. Promote accessibility instead of mobility.
7. Reopen the debate on high-speedtrains in Switzerland.
8. Governing the urban.

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